

LOC-HAK-15-5-54-0 THE ARMY

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF

WASHINGTON

ARMY REVIEWED 03-Dec-2009: NO OBJECTION TO DECLASSIFICATION.

11 August 1971

DOS REVIEWED 03-Dec-2009: NO OBJECTION TO DECLASSIFICATION.

Dr. Henry A. Kissinger
National Security Council
West Wing
The White House

Dear Henry:

Enclosed, as promised, is my condensation
of the Lin Piao Manifesto (prepared in 1965!).

God be with you, and I mean this in the
most literal sense.

Mrs. Demeres, in my office, and Sven
have my itinerary indicating at what places and
phone numbers I might be reached in an emergency.
Under present plans I shall return to US o/a
18 September.

Kraemer

Fritz G. A. Kraemer

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LIN PIAO'S MANIFESTO

The World in Peking's Image . . .

On 2 September of this year Chinese Communist radio stations and newspapers broadcast and printed the entire 20,000-word text of a manifesto entitled "Long Live the Victory of People's War! In Commemoration of the 20th Anniversary of Victory in the Chinese People's War of Resistance Against Japan." The entire statement was broadcast in many languages and an English version appeared in the *Peking Review*, the Chinese Communist official English-language propaganda organ.

The author of the manifesto was Lin Piao, second only to Mao Tse-tung in the hierarchy of Chinese Communist rulers. He is vice chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and is Vice Premier and Minister of Defense of Communist China. Some scholars have called it the Chinese Communist equivalent of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and Nasser's *A Philosophy of Revolution*.

The manifesto is faithful to its genre, turgid with Marxist terminology and historical reminiscences. Much of what it says has been said before, but its

value, as Deputy Secretary of Defense Cyrus R. Vance has said, is that

it tells us not only what Peking's intentions are in Asia—not only what Peking's intentions are in Vietnam—not only what Peking's intentions are toward the United States—but what Peking's plans are for the whole expansion of world communism.

The following compilation and condensation of the manifesto was prepared by Dr. Fritz G. A. Kraemer of Washington. Key passages have been selected and grouped under appropriate headings for ready reference and quick grasp of the essential strategic and tactical concepts propounded by Lin Piao. The passages are taken from the text as printed in English in the Red Chinese Peking Review (No. 36) of 3 September 1965. Words in brackets in the text have been inserted for the better understanding of the American reader. For scholars we have indicated in brackets at the end of paragraphs the page and column of the Peking Review in which the quotation appears.

THE GENERAL ARGUMENT FOR WAR AND VIOLENCE

The Chinese revolution is a continuation of the great [Russian] October Revolution. . . . The Chinese revolution and the October Revolution have in common [that] in both . . . state power was seized through violent revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat was established [and that] in both the "socialist" [that is, communist] system was built after victory in the revolution. (22 right)

In the last analysis the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution is the theory of the seizure of state power by revolutionary violence. . . .

. . . Comrade Mao using the simplest and most vivid language advanced the famous No Objection To Declassification in Full 2010/09/07 : LOC-HAK-15-5-54-0 grows out of the barrel of a gun. He clearly pointed out: "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle holds good universally, for China and for all other countries." (23 left)

WAR IS A GREAT SCHOOL

We know that war brings destruction,

sacrifice and suffering to the people. But . . . the sacrifice of a small number of people in revolutionary wars is repaid by security for whole nations . . . and even the whole of mankind. . . . War can temper people and push history forward. In this sense war is a great school. . . . (28 left) Lenin said: ". . . War, as a tremendous historical process, has accelerated social development. . . . War has shaken up the masses, its untold horrors and sufferings have awakened them. War has given history momentum. . . ."

In diametrical opposition to the Khrushchev revisionists, the [genuine; that is, Chinese] Marxist-Leninists never take a gloomy view of war. Our attitude toward imperialist wars of aggression has always been clear-cut. First we are against them . . . secondly we are not

If their . . . line of "peaceful coexistence, peaceful transition and peaceful competition" is followed, the oppressed will be liberated and "a world without weapons . . . and without wars" will come into being. . . . The kind of rubbish peddled by the Khrushchev revisionists has already taken a great toll of lives in a number of countries. . . . The essence of the . . . line of the Khrushchev revisionists is . . . the demand that all the oppressed peoples . . . and all the countries which have won independence should lay down their arms and place themselves at the mercy of the U. S. imperialists and their lackeys. . . . (28 left)

II

PEOPLE'S WAR: THE COM- MUNIST STRATEGY

How was it possible for a weak country [China] finally to defeat a strong country [Japan]? How was it possible for a seemingly weak [Chinese communist] army to become the main force in the war? The basic reasons were that the War of Resistance Against Japan was a genuine people's war led by the Communist Party of China. . . . (9 right)

Today, the U. S. imperialists are repeating on a world-wide scale the past

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IS RUBBISH

The Khrushchev revisionists claim that

actions of the Japanese imperialists in . . . Asia. It has become an urgent necessity for the people in many countries to master and use people's wars as a weapon against U. S. imperialism and its lackeys. (10 left)

Since World War II people's war has increasingly demonstrated its power in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The peoples of China, Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cuba, Indonesia, Algeria and others have waged people's wars against the imperialists and won great victories. (25 left)

Provided each people studies these lessons [post-World War II people's wars] well and creatively integrates them with the concrete practice of revolution in their own country, there is no doubt that the revolutionary peoples of the world will stage still more powerful and splendid dramas in the theater of people's war in their own countries and that they will wipe off the earth once and for all the common enemy of all the peoples, U. S. imperialism and its lackeys. (29 right)

PEOPLE'S WAR— A PROTRACTED WAR

In his celebrated work, *On Protracted War*, Mao pointed out [that in the China-Japan confrontation]: Japan was a powerful imperialist country [while] China . . . was a weak semi-colonial, semi-feudal country.

Japan's advantage and China's disadvantage determined the impossibility of a quick victory for China.

On the basis of this . . . Mao formulated the strategy for a protracted war. China's War of Resistance would be protracted, and prolonged efforts would be needed gradually to weaken the enemy's forces and expand our own so that . . . we would . . . finally . . . defeat him. (11 right)

Mao pointed out that . . . the war . . . would pass through three stages: the strategic defensive, the strategic stalemate, and the strategic offensive.

The protracted war was also a process of mobilizing, organizing and arming the people. It was only by mobilizing the entire people to fight a people's war that the war . . . could be persevered in and finally defeated. (12 left)

III BASIC STRATEGY OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR

FROM RURAL POWER BASES TO CAPTURE OF CITIES

Mao . . . during the War of Resistance Against Japan developed his thought on the establishment of rural base areas and the use of the countryside to encircle the cities and finally capture

them. (12 left)

The [Russian] October Revolution began with armed uprisings in the cities and then spread to the countryside, while the Chinese revolution won nation-wide victory through the encirclement of the cities from the rural areas and final capture of the cities. (22 right)

Mao's theory of the establishment of rural revolutionary base areas and the encirclement of the cities from the countryside is of outstanding and universal practical importance for the present revolutionary struggles of all oppressed peoples and nations and particularly for the struggles of the . . . peoples and nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and its lackeys. (24 left)

ENCIRCLEMENT OF NORTH AMERICA AND WESTERN EUROPE

The countryside, and the countryside alone, can provide the revolutionary bases from which the revolutionaries can go forward to final victory. (24 left)

Taking the entire globe, if North America and western Europe can be called "the cities of the world," then Asia, Africa and Latin America constitute "the rural areas of the world". . . In a sense the contemporary world revolution also presents a picture of the encirclement of "cities" by the "rural areas." In the final analysis the whole cause of world revolution hinges on the revolutionary struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American people who make up the overwhelming majority of the world's population. (24 right)

SIMULTANEOUS PEOPLE'S WARS

U. S. imperialism is stronger, but also more vulnerable, than any imperialism in the past. . . Its human, military and financial reserves are far from sufficient for . . . dominating the whole world. . . It is besieged by ring upon ring of people of the whole world. (26 left)

The struggles waged by different peoples against U. S. imperialism reinforce each other and merge into a torrential world-wide tide of opposition to U. S. imperialism. The more successful the

U. S. . . . forces that can be pinned down and depleted there. When the U. S. . . . are hard pressed in one place, they have no alternative but to loosen their grip on others. . . This colossus of U. S. imperialism can be split up and defeated. The peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions can destroy it piece by piece, some striking at its head, and others at its feet. That is why the greatest fear of U. S. . . . is that people's wars will be launched in different parts of the world

. . . particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America. . . (26 left)

DUTY TO PROMOTE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONS

Of course, . . . only when the people in a country are awakened, mobilized, organized and armed can they overthrow the reactionary rule . . . ; their role cannot be . . . taken over by any people from the outside. In this sense revolution cannot be imported. But this does not exclude mutual . . . support on the part of revolutionary peoples. . . Our [Chinese] support and aid to other revolutionary peoples serve precisely to help their self-reliant struggle. (28 right)

Those countries which have won victory [that is, in which the communists have already gained power] are duty bound to support and aid the peoples who have not yet done so. (22 right)

IV MILITARY PRINCIPLES OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR

FROM GUERRILLA WAR TOWARDS MOBILE WARFARE

Engels said, "The Emancipation of the proletariat . . . will have its specific expression in military affairs and create its specific new military method." (17 right)

During the War of Resistance Against Japan Mao laid down the following . . . principle for the communist-led armies: Guerrilla warfare is basic, but lose no chance for mobile warfare under favorable conditions.

Guerrilla warfare is the only way to mobilize and apply the whole strength of the people against the enemy, the only way to expand our forces . . . deplete and weaken the enemy, gradually change the balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves, switch from guerrilla to mobile warfare, and finally defeat the enemy. (18 left)

WAR OF ANNIHILATION

War of annihilation is the fundamental guiding principle of our military operations . . . regardless of whether mobile

True, . . . in guerrilla warfare much should be done to [simply] disrupt and harass the enemy, but it is still necessary actively to advocate and fight battles of annihilation, whenever conditions are favorable. In mobile warfare superior forces must be concentrated in every battle so that the enemy forces can be wiped out one by one. . . Mao has pointed out:

" . . . Injuring all of man's fingers is not as effective as chopping off one, and routing ten enemy divisions is not

as effective as annihilating one of them. . . .

"In every battle, concentrate an absolutely superior force (two, three, four, and even five or six times the enemy strength), encircle the enemy forces completely, strive to wipe them out thoroughly and do not let any escape from the net. . . . Strive to avoid battles of attrition in which we lose more than we gain or only break even." (13 right)

HOW TO FIGHT A SUPERIOR ENEMY

Mao has provided a masterly summary of the strategy and tactics of people's war:

"You fight in your way and we fight in ours; we fight when we can win and move away when we can't."

In other words, you rely on modern weapons and we rely on highly conscious revolutionary people; you give full play to your superiority and we give full play to ours; you have your way of fighting and we have ours. When you want to fight us, we don't let you and you can't even find us. But when we want to fight you, we make sure that you can't get away and we hit you squarely . . . and wipe you out. When we are able to wipe you out, we do so with a vengeance; when we can't, we see to it that you do not wipe us out. (19 left)

. . . Revolutionary armed forces should not fight with a reckless disregard for the consequences when there is a great disparity between their own strength and the enemy's. If they do, they will suffer serious losses and bring heavy setbacks to the revolution. (18 left)

It is opportunism if one won't fight when one can win. It is adventurism, if one insists on fighting when one can't win. Fighting is the pivot of all our strategy and tactics. . . . Because of the necessity of fighting . . . we admit the necessity of moving away. The sole purpose of moving away is to fight [again] and bring about the final and complete destruction of the enemy. (19 left)

BASIC TACTICS OF GUERRILLA WARFARE

In the . . . [Chinese] Civil War, Mao enumerated the basic tactics of guerrilla war:

"The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue."

Guerrilla war tactics were further developed during the War of Resistance Against Japan. In the base areas behind the enemy lines everybody joined in the fighting—the troops and the civilian population, men and women, old and young. . . . Various ingenious

methods of fighting were devised, including sparrow warfare, land mine warfare, tunnel warfare, sabotage warfare, and guerrilla warfare on lakes and rivers. (18 left)

(A footnote in Lin Piao's article defines sparrow warfare: ". . . a popular method of fighting created by the Communist-led anti-Japanese guerrilla and militia units behind the enemy lines. . . . It was used flexibly by guerrillas or militiamen, operating in threes or fives, appearing or disappearing unexpectedly [like sparrows] and wounding, killing . . . and wearing out the enemy forces.")

PEOPLE'S WAR REQUIRES A PEOPLE'S ARMY

"Without a people's army the people have nothing." This is the conclusion drawn by . . . Mao . . . from the Chinese . . . revolutionary struggle. This is a universal truth of Marxism-Leninism.

The main form of [that Chinese revolutionary] struggle was war and the main form of organization was the army which was under the absolute leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

At the start of the War of Resistance Against Japan . . . the people's army led by the . . . Party had only a little over 40,000 men. . . . Mao pointed out that . . . it was imperative greatly to expand [the army]. The whole Party [said Mao] should give close attention to war and study military affairs. Every Party member should be ready at all times to take up arms and go to the front. (16 right)

The Eighth Route and the New Fourth Armies [that is, the two main communist armies in the Chinese-Japanese conflict] were founded on . . . Mao's theory of army building. They were armies of a new type, a people's army. . . . Guided by . . . Mao's theory on building the people's army, our army was under the absolute leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and . . . carried out the Party's Marxist-Leninist line and policies.

During the anti-Japanese war our [communist] army . . . performed three tasks set by . . . Mao; . . . namely, fighting, mass work and production. It was at the same time a fighting force, a political work force, and a produc-

organized and armed them and helped them set up revolutionary political power. . . . They also made use of every possibility to engage in production themselves so as to overcome economic difficulties, better their own livelihood, and lighten the people's burden. (17 left)

The essence of . . . Mao's . . . theory of army building is that in building a people's army prominence must

be given to politics; that is, the army must first and foremost be built on a political basis. Politics is the commander, politics is the soul of everything. Political work is the life-line of our army. True, a people's army must pay attention to the constant improvement of its weapons and equipment and military technique, but in its fighting it does not rely purely on weapons and technique, it relies mainly on politics, on the proletarian revolutionary consciousness and courage of . . . commanders and fighters, on the support and backing of the masses.

All this makes the people's army . . . fundamentally different from any bourgeois army. . . . (17 right)

V POLITICAL STRATEGY OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR

THE UNITED FRONT

[In fighting imperialism] a Communist Party must hold aloft the national banner and, using the weapon of the United Front, rally around itself the masses and the patriotic and anti-imperialist people so as to unite with all the forces that can be united. . . . (14 right) This means that the revolution embraces in its ranks not only the workers, peasants and the urban party bourgeoisie, but also the national [that is, middle or even upper] bourgeoisie and other "patriotic" and anti-imperialist democrats. . . . (24 right) If we abandon the national banner, adopt a policy of closed-doorism [in respect to non-communist elements] we [would only] isolate ourselves.

[But] within the United Front the Communist Party must maintain its ideological, political and organizational independence . . . and insist on its leading role. (14 right)

This means that the revolution can only be, nay, must be, led by the proletariat and the genuinely revolutionary party armed with Marxism-Leninism and by no other class or party. (24 right)

STAGES OF TRANSITION TO SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Mao's theory . . . is the theory of the national-democratic revolution [during which the communists lead a United Front of communist and non-communist forces] and the socialist [stage].

The national-democratic revolution can be fulfilled only through long and tortuous struggles. In this stage . . . imperialism and its lackeys are the main enemy. In the struggle against imperialism and its lackeys it is necessary to rally all anti-imperialist forces, including the national bourgeoisie and

all patriotic personages. . . . The national-democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution and the socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel.

Mao criticized the wrong idea of "accomplishing both at one stroke" and pointed out that this utopian idea could only weaken the struggle against imperialism. . . . (25 left)

The Chinese revolution provides a successful lesson for making a thorough-going national-democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat . . . [and] for the timely transition from the national-democratic to the social revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. (25 left to 25 right)

VI IMPERIALISTS ARE NOT TO BE FEARED

IMPERIALISTS ARE PAPER TIGERS

In view of the fact that some people were afflicted with the fear of imperialists and reactionaries . . . Mao put forward his famous thesis that "the imperialists and all reactionaries are paper tigers". . . . He said in appearance they are terrifying but in reality they are not so powerful. The history of the people's war in China and other countries provides conclusive evidence that the growth of the people's revolutionary forces from weak and small beginnings is a universal law of development of people's war.

Mao points out that we must despise the enemy strategically and take full account of him tactically.

Without the courage to despise the enemy and without daring to win, it will be simply impossible to make revolution and wage a people's war. . . .

It is likewise impossible to win victory in a people's war without taking full account of the enemy tactically . . . without examining concrete conditions . . . and without adopting appropriate forms of struggle in the concrete practice of the revolution in each country. . . . (23 right)

The imperialists are extremely afraid of . . .

and the revisionists are extremely hostile to it. They all . . . attack this thesis and the philistinism follow suit by ridiculing it. But . . . the light of truth cannot be dimmed by anybody. (24 left)

POWER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT

U. S. imperialism relies solely on its nuclear weapons to intimidate people. But . . . nuclear weapons cannot be used lightly. U. S. . . . has been condemned by the . . . whole world for . . .

dropping atomic bombs on Japan. If it uses nuclear weapons again, it will become isolated in the extreme. Moreover, the U. S. monopoly of nuclear weapons has long been broken. . . . If it threatens other countries with nuclear weapons, U. S. imperialism will expose its own people to the same threat.

Even if U. S. . . . brazenly uses nuclear weapons it cannot conquer the people who are indomitable.

However highly developed modern weapons and technical equipment may be . . . In the final analysis the outcome of a war will be decided by the sustained fighting of ground forces, by the fighting at close quarters on battlefields, by the political consciousness of men, by their courage and spirit of sacrifice. . . . (26 right) The reactionary troops of U. S. imperialism cannot possibly be endowed with the . . . spirit of sacrifice possessed by revolutionary people. The spiritual atom bomb which the revolutionary people possess is a far more powerful and useful weapon than the physical atom bomb. (27 left)

Since Lenin led the Great October Revolution to victory, the experience of innumerable revolutionary wars has borne out the truth that a revolutionary people who rise up with only their bare hands at the outset finally succeed in defeating the ruling classes who are armed to the teeth. People's armed forces beginning only with primitive . . . rifles and hand grenades have in the end defeated the imperialist forces armed with modern planes, tanks, heavy artillery and atom bombs. Guerrilla forces have ultimately defeated regular armies. "Amateurs" . . . never trained at any military school have eventually defeated professionals graduated from military academies.

The Khrushchev revisionists insist that a nation without nuclear weapons is incapable of defeating an enemy with nuclear weapons. . . . Is not this openly forbidding people to make revolution?

The Khrushchev revisionists assert that nuclear weapons and strategic rocket units are decisive, while conventional forces are insignificant and

oppose mobilization of and reliance on the masses in the "Socialist" [that is, communist] countries to get prepared to use the people's war against imperialist[s]. They have staked the whole future of their country on nuclear weapons and are engaged in a nuclear gamble with U. S. imperialism with which they are trying to strike a political deal. . . . Their line in army building is the bourgeois line which ignores the human factor and sees only the material factor and which regards tech-

nique as everything and politics as nothing. (27 right)

PEOPLE'S WAR NEED NOT ESCALATE INTO NUCLEAR WAR

The Khrushchev revisionists maintain that a single spark in any part of the globe may touch off a world nuclear conflagration and bring destruction to mankind. . . . There have been wars of national liberation throughout the 20 years since World War II. But has any single one of them developed into a world war? . . . (27 right)

CHINESE MILLIONS CAN DEFEAT SUPER-POWER OF U. S.

The U. S. imperialists are now clamoring for another trial of strength with the Chinese people, for another large-scale ground war in the Asian mainland. . . . The Chinese people definitely have ways of their own for coping with a U. S. imperialist war. . . . Our methods are no secret. The most important one is still mobilization of the people . . . making everyone a soldier and waging a people's war.

We want to tell the U. S. . . . that the vast ocean of several million Chinese people in arms will be more than enough to submerge your few million aggressor troops. . . . The naval and air superiority you boast can not intimidate the Chinese people, and neither can the atom bomb. . . . If you want to send troops, go ahead; the more the better. We will annihilate as many as you can send. . . . We have the courage to shoulder the heavy burden of combating U. S. imperialism and to contribute our share in the struggle for final victory over this most ferocious enemy of the people of the world. (29 right)

VII THE ATTACK ON SOVIET REVISIONISM

KHRUSHCHEV REVISIONISM IN COLLUSION WITH U. S.

In every conceivable way U. S. imperialism and its lackeys are trying to of on-
ists [that is, the Soviet leadership, Khrushchevian and post-Khrushchevian], fearing people's war like the plague, are heaping abuse on it. The two [U. S. and Soviet Union] are colluding to prevent and sabotage people's war. (10 left)

Whether one dares to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against . . . the imperialists and their lackeys, whether one dares to fight a people's war against them is tantamount to whether one dares to embark on revolution. This is the most

effective touchstone for distinguishing genuine [Chinese] from fake [Soviet] revolutionaries, genuine [Chinese] Marxist-Leninists from fake [Soviet] Marxist-Leninists. (23 right)

It is sheer day-dreaming to think that . . . we too [like the Soviets] will lose our revolutionary fighting will, abandon the cause of world revolution and discard Marxism-Leninism. (23 right)

The propaganda of the Khrushchev revisionists against people's war . . . the publicity they give to defeatism and capitulationism tend to demoralize . . . revolutionary people everywhere. . . . They have completely betrayed the Marxist-Leninist theory of war and have become betrayers of the people's war. (28 right)

The Khrushchev revisionists have come to the rescue of imperialism just when it is most panic-stricken and helpless in its efforts to cope with people's war. Working hand in glove with the U. S. imperialists they are doing their utmost to spread all kinds of arguments against people's war and, wherever they can, they are scheming to undermine it by overt or covert means.

The fundamental reason why the Khrushchev revisionists are opposed to people's war is that they have no faith in the masses and are afraid of U. S. imperialism, of war and of revolution. . . . They submit to the nuclear blackmail of the U. S. imperialists and are afraid that, if the oppressed peoples and nations rise up to fight people's

war—or the peoples of socialist [that is, communist] countries repulse U. S. imperialist aggression—U. S. imperialism will become incensed, they themselves will become involved and their fond dream of Soviet-U. S. cooperation to dominate the world will be spoiled. (27 left)

The Khrushchev revisionists regard imperialists like Kennedy and Johnson as "sensible" and describe us [Chinese communists] together with all those who dare to carry out armed defense against imperialist aggression as "bellicose." This has revealed the Khrushchev revisionists in their true colors as the accomplices of imperialist gangsters. (28 left)

To win the struggle against U. S. imperialism and carry people's war to victory the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people throughout the world must resolutely oppose Khrushchev revisionism. (28 right)

. . . There are bound to be people's wars. . . . It is certain that such wars will develop vigorously. This is an objective law independent of the will of either the U. S. imperialists or the Khrushchev revisionists. The revolutionary people of the world will sweep away everything that stands in the way of their advance. Khrushchev is finished. And the successor to Khrushchev revisionism [that is, the current Soviet leadership] will fare no better. The imperialists . . . , and the Khrushchev revisionists, who have all set themselves against people's war, will be

swept like dust from the stage of history by . . . the revolutionary people. (28 right to 29 left)

VIII VIETNAM: SOCIALIST VICTORY ASSURED

The struggle of the Vietnamese people against U. S. aggression . . . is now the focus of the struggle of the people of the world against U. S. aggression. . . . No matter what U. S. imperialism may do to expand its war adventure, the Chinese people will do everything in their power to support the Vietnamese people until every single one of the U. S. aggressors is driven out of Vietnam. (29 left)

Vietnam, is the most convincing current example of . . . defeating U. S. imperialism by a people's war. . . . They [the U. S.] are deeply worried that their defeat in Vietnam will lead to a chain reaction. . . . But the more they [the U. S.] expand the war, the greater will be the chain reaction . . . the more disastrous their defeat. The people in other parts of the world will see still more clearly that U. S. imperialism can be defeated and that what the Vietnamese people can do, they can do too.

All people suffering from U. S. imperialist aggression, oppression or plunder, unite! Hold aloft the . . . banner of people's war. . . . Victory will certainly go to the people of the world! (30 left)

Dr. Kraemer/76262
26 November 1965 /

INFORMATION BRIEF

SUBJECT: The Lin Piao Manifesto: Long Live the Victory of Peoples War

PURPOSE To inform the Army Commanders of the important strategic and political concepts pronounced by Marshal Lin Piao, Communist China's Minister of Defense, on 2 September 1965.

DISCUSSION Inclosed herewith is a condensation of the 20,000-word Lin Piao manifesto issued in Peking on 2 September 1965. Key passages have been selected and grouped under appropriate headings, to provide a succinct summary of this doctrinal statement of Red China's aims on remaking the world in Peking's image and, in so doing, destroying the United States.

1 Incl
as

En Dr. Kissinger:

These legal-size pages (of the same text as appear
in printed version)

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are provided merely for your convenience
in case you wish to write some "marginal notes
to yourself" re some passages.

10 Aug 71 Kv

1) Except for pages (Roman) I through III, which do not appear
in printed article

"Long Live the Victory
of
Peoples War!

In Commemoration of the 20th Anniversary of Victory in the
Chinese Peoples War of Resistance Against Japan."

by

LIN BIAO

Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of China

Vice-Premier
and
Minister of Defense
of China

Introduction

Importance of the Lin Piao

Manifesto

- 1) The "Washington Post" generally known for its very moderate approach regarding the Communist threat described (Sunday 19 Sep 1965, Page E 1) the importance of the Lin Piao article in these terms:

"Every now and then the leaders of totalitarian states put their dreams on paper. Hitler wrote 'Mein Kampf'; Nasser wrote 'A Philosophy of Revolution'; Lenin, Stalin and Khrushchev turned out a mass of articles and books.

Now come the Chinese Communists.

A 20,000 word article 'Long Live the Victory of the Peoples War', issued in Peking Sep 2 /1965/ is rated by Chinese scholars in the US as an extremely important document. They give it this rating even though many of its theses...are old and its central formulation was well anticipated in the West.

...What the Chinese now have produced, fundamentally, is Mao Tse-tung's view of the world, a definitive doctrinal statement of China's aims on how to remake the world in Peking's image.

It behooves the West, above all the US, to pay attention to what the document says not just to cast it aside as 'Mein Kampf' was cast aside, as a dream of the impossible. For the West - again above all the US - is the focus of China's antagonism, and our destruction is China's goal."

- 2) The importance the Chinese themselves attach to the Lin Piao article is shown by the fact - among other indicators - that it appeared (on 2 Sep) in newspapers throughout China, and that its complete text was broadcast in many languages (including English) by the Chinese Radio and printed in the "Peking Review" the Chinese Communist Party's English language newspaper.
- No Objection To Declassification in Full 2010/09/07 : LOC-HAK-15-5-54-0

Why "Condensation"

of the Lin Piao Manifesto is desirable

Perusal of the 20,000 word Lin Piao article - heavily larded with historical reminiscences and ritual Marxist terminology - is a time-consuming, rather arduous task. On the following 14 pages key passages from the over-long article have been selected, and grouped under appropriate headings, for ready reference and a quick grasp of the essential strategic and tactical concepts propounded by Lin Piao.

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NOTE

- a. The passages quoted on the following pages have all been taken from the text of the Lin Piao article, as printed in English in the official Red Chinese "Peking Review" No. 36, dated 3 September 1965.
- b. Where, for a better understanding, it appeared advisable to add a very few words not contained in the "Peking Review" text, such added words have been put in brackets.
- c. All underlinings have been supplied by the author of this compilation.
- d. The only other changes made in the passages quoted from the "Peking Review" are changes from the "Peking Review's" British spelling to American spelling.
- e. The numbers on the left margin of the following pages indicate the pages and the columns (r=right, l=left) of the "Peking Review" from which the quotation was taken.

I

The General Argument

for War and Violence

[p 22 r] "The Chinese revolution is a continuation of the great Russian October Revolution...The Chinese revolution and the October Revolution have in common that in both...state power was seized through violent revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat was established and that in both the 'socialist' i.e. communist system was built after victory in the revolution."

[p 23 l] "In the last analysis the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution is the theory of the seizure of state power by revolutionary violence..."

"...Comrade Mao using the simplest and most vivid language advanced the famous thesis that

Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.

He clearly pointed out:

The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle holds good universally, for China and for all other countries.

"War a Great School"

[p 28 l] "We know that war brings destruction, sacrifice and suffering to the people. But...the sacrifice of a small number of people in revolutionary wars is repaid by security for whole nations...and even the whole of mankind....War can temper people and push history forward. In this sense war is a great school....Lenin said:

[p 28 r] No Objection To Declassification in Full 2010/09/07 : LOC-HAK-15-5-54-0

social development....War has shaken up the masses, its untold horrors and sufferings have awakened them. War has given history momentum..."

"In diametrical opposition to the Khrushchev revisionists, the genuine, i.e. Chinese/Marxist-Leninists never take a gloomy view of war. Our attitude toward imperialist wars of aggression has always been clear-cut. First we are against them...secondly we are not afraid of them. As for revolutionary wars waged by the oppressed nations and peoples, so far from opposing them, we invariably give them firm support and active aid...and when we grow in strength, as time goes on, we will give them still more support and aid..."

Peaceful Coexistence
is rubbish

[p 28 l] "The Khrushchev revisionists claim that if their...line of 'peaceful coexistence, peaceful transition and peaceful competition' is followed, the oppressed will be liberated and 'a world without weapons...and without wars' will come into being....The kind of rubbish peddled by the Khrushchev

revisionists has already taken a great toll of lives in a number of countries....The essence of the...line of the Khrushchev revisionists is... the demand that all the oppressed peoples...and all the countries which have won independence should lay down their arms and place themselves at the mercy of the US imperialists and their lackeys..."

II

"Peoples War"

The Communist Road to Victory

/p 9 r/ "How was it possible for a weak country /China/ finally to defeat a strong country /Japan/? How was it possible for a seemingly weak /Chinese Communist/ army, to become the main force in the war? The basic reasons were that the War of Resistance Against Japan was a genuine peoples war led by the Communist Party of China..."

/p 10 l/ "Today, the US imperialists are repeating on a world-wide scale the past actions of the Japanese imperialists in...Asia. It has become an urgent necessity for the people in many countries to master and use peoples wars as a weapon against US imperialism and its lackeys."

/p 26 l/ "Since WW II peoples war has increasingly demonstrated its power in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The peoples of China, Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cuba, Indonesia, Algeria and others have waged peoples wars against the imperialists and won great victories."

/p 29 l/ "Provided each people studies these lessons /post-WW II peoples wars/ well and creatively integrates them with the concrete practice of revolution in their own country, there is no doubt that the revolutionary peoples of the world will stage still more powerful and splendid dramas in the theater of peoples war in their own countries and that they will wipe off the earth once and for all the common enemy of all the peoples, US imperialism and its lackeys."

"Peoples War"

A Protracted War

/p 11 r/ No Objection To Declassification in Full 2010/09/07 : LOC-HAK-15-5-54-0 in the China-Japan confrontation/: Japan was a powerful imperialist country /while/ China...was a weak semi-colonial, semi-feudal country."

"Japan's advantage and China's disadvantage determined the impossibility of a quick victory for China."

"On the basis of this...Mao formulated the strategy for a protracted war. China's War of Resistance would be protracted, and prolonged efforts would be needed gradually to weaken the enemy's forces and expand our own so that...we would...finally...defeat him."

/p 12 l/ "Mao pointed out that...the War...would pass through three stages: the strategic defensive, the strategic stalemate and the strategic offensive. The protracted war was also a process of mobilizing, organizing and arming the people. It was only by mobilizing the entire people to fight a peoples war that the War...could be persevered in and the Japanese aggression defeated."

III

Basic Strategy of the

"Peoples War"

From power bases in the countryside to encirclement
and final capture of the cities

P 12 1 "Mao...during the War of Resistance Against Japan developed his thought on the establishment of rural base areas and the use of the countryside to encircle the cities and finally capture them..."

P 22 E "The Russian October Revolution began with armed uprisings in the cities and then spread to the countryside, while the Chinese revolution won nation-wide victory through the encirclement of the cities from the rural areas and final capture of the cities."

P 24 1 "Mao's theory of the establishment of rural revolutionary base areas and the encirclement of the cities from the countryside is of outstanding and universal practical importance for the present revolutionary struggles of all oppressed peoples and nations and particularly for the struggles of the...peoples and nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and its lackeys."

Encirclement of N. America and W. Europe by communist takeover
of the world's underdeveloped areas

P 24 1 "The countryside, and the countryside alone, can provide the revolutionary bases from which the revolutionaries can go forward to final vic
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P 24 E "Taking the entire globe, if North America and W. Europe can be called 'the cities of the world,' then Asia, Africa and Latin America constitute 'the rural areas of the world'....In a sense the contemporary world revolution also presents a picture of the encirclement of 'cities' by the 'rural areas.' In the final analysis the whole cause of world revolution hinges on the revolutionary struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American people who make up the overwhelming majority of the world's population."

Simultaneous Peoples Wars in many different areas of the world

P 26 1 "US imperialism is stronger, but also more vulnerable, than any imperialism in the past....Its human, military and financial reserves are far from sufficient for...dominating the whole world....It is besieged by ring upon ring of people of the whole world."

[p 26 r]

"The struggles waged by different peoples against US imperialism reinforce each other and merge into a torrential world-wide tide of opposition to US imperialism. The more successful the development of a peoples war in a given region, the larger the number of US...forces that can be pinned down and depleted there. When the US...are hard pressed in one place, they have no alternative but to loosen their grip on others.... This colossus of US imperialism can be split up and defeated. The peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions can destroy it piece by piece, some striking at its head, and others at its feet. That is why the greatest fear of US...is that peoples wars will be launched in different parts of the world...particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America..."

Communist Countries
duty bound to promote Peoples Revolutions
elsewhere in the World

[p 28 r]

"Of course,...only when the people in a country are awakened, mobilized, organized and armed can they overthrow the reactionary rule ...; their role cannot be...taken over by any people from the outside. In this sense revolution cannot be imported. But this does not exclude mutual...support on the part of revolutionary peoples....Our /Chinese/ support and aid to other revolutionary peoples serves precisely to help their self-reliant struggle."

[p 22 r]

"Those countries which have won victory /i.e. in which the Communists have already gained power/ are duty bound to support and aid the peoples who have not yet done so."

IV

Guiding Military Principles

of the Peoples War

From Guerrilla toward Mobile Warfare

[p 17 E] "Engels *) said 'The Emancipation of the proletariat...will have its specific expression in military affairs and create its specific new military method.'"

[p 18 1] "During the War of Resistance Against Japan Mao laid down the following...principle for the Communist-led Armies:
Guerrilla warfare is basic, but lose no chance for mobile warfare under favorable conditions."

"Guerrilla warfare is the only way to mobilize and apply the whole strength of the people against the enemy, the only way to expand our forces...deplete and weaken the enemy, gradually change the balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves, switch from guerrilla to mobile warfare, and finally defeat the enemy."

War of Annihilation

[p 18 1] "War of annihilation is the fundamental guiding principle of our military operations...regardless of whether mobile or guerrilla warfare is the primary form of fighting.

[p 18 E] True...in guerrilla warfare much should be done to simply disrupt and harass the enemy, but it is still necessary actively to advocate and fight battles of annihilation, whenever conditions are favorable. To mobilize No Objection To Declassification in Full 2010/09/07 : LOC-HAK-15-5-54-0 that the enemy forces can be wiped out one by one...Mao has pointed out:
...Injuring all of man's fingers is not as effective as chopping off one, and routing ten enemy divisions is not as effective as annihilating one of them..."

"In every battle Mao has said concentrate an absolutely superior force (two, three, four, and even five or six times the enemy strength), encircle the enemy forces completely, strive to wipe them out thoroughly and do not let any escape from the net....Strive to avoid battles of attrition in which we lose more than we gain or only break even."

How to Fight a Superior
(Conventional) Enemy

[p 19 1] "Mao has provided a masterly summary of the strategy and tactics of

* Nineteenth century co-founder, with Marx, of the Communist Movement.

peoples war:

You fight in your way and we fight in ours; we fight when we can win and move away when we can't.

In other words, you rely on modern weapons and we rely on highly conscious revolutionary people; you give full play to your superiority and we give full play to ours; you have your way of fighting and we have ours. When you want to fight us, we don't let you and you can't even find us. But when we want to fight you, we make sure that you can't get away and we hit you squarely...and wipe you out. When we are able to wipe you out, we do so with a vengeance; when we can't, we see to it that you do not wipe us out."

[p 18 1]

"...revolutionary armed forces should not fight with a reckless disregard for the consequences when there is a great disparity between their own strength and the enemy's. If they do, they will suffer serious losses and bring heavy setbacks to the revolution."

[p 19 1]

"It is opportunism if one won't fight when one can win. It is adventurism, if one insists on fighting when one can't win. Fighting is the pivot of all our strategy and tactics....Because of the necessity of fighting...we admit the necessity of moving away. The sole purpose of moving away is to fight again and bring about the final and complete destruction of the enemy."

Basic Tactics of Guerrilla Warfare

[p 18 1]

"In the...[Chinese] Civil War Mao enumerated the basic tactics of guerrilla warfare as follows:

The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue.

Guerrilla war tactics were further developed during the War of Resistance Against Japan. In the base areas behind the enemy lines everybody joined in the fighting - the troops and the civilian population, men and women, old and young....Various ingenious methods of fighting were devised. No Objection To Declassification in Full 2010/09/07 : LOC-HAK-15-5-54-0re, sabotage warfare, and guerrilla warfare on lakes and rivers."

Peoples Warfare Requires a Peoples Army

[p 16 1]

"Without a peoples army the people have nothing.' This is the conclusion drawn by...Mao...from the Chinese...revolutionary struggle. This is a universal truth of Marxism-Leninism."

* A footnote to Lin Piao's article gives this explanation "...a popular method of fighting created by the Communist-led anti-Japanese guerrilla and militia units behind the enemy lines...it was used flexibly by guerrillas or militiamen, operating in threes or fives, appearing or disappearing unexpectedly like sparrows and wounding, killing...and wearing out the enemy forces."

"The main form of [that Chinese revolutionary] struggle was war and the main form of organization was the army which was under the absolute leadership of the Chinese Communist Party."

"At the start of the War of Resistance Against Japan...the peoples army led by the...Party had only a little over 40,000 men...Mao pointed out that...it was imperative greatly to expand [the army]. The whole Party [said Mao] should give close attention to war and study military affairs. Every Party member should be ready at all times to take up arms and go to the front."

[p 17 l]

"The Eighth Route and the New Fourth Armies [i.e. the two main Communist armies in the Chinese-Japanese conflict] were founded on... Mao's theory of army building. They were armies of a new type, a peoples army....Guided by...Mao's theory on building the peoples army, our army was under the absolute leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and... carried out the Party's Marxist-Leninist line and policies."

"During the anti-Japanese war our [Communist] army...performed three tasks set by ...Mao...namely fighting masswork and production, it was at the same time a fighting force, a political work force and a production corps. Everywhere it went, it did propaganda work among the masses, organized and armed them and helped them set up revolutionary political power....They also made use of every possibility to engage in production themselves so as to overcome economic difficulties, better their own livelihood, and lighten the people's burden."

[p 17 r]

"The essence of...Mao's...theory of army building is that in building a peoples army prominence must be given to politics, i.e., the army must first and foremost be built on a political basis. Politics is the commander, politics is the soul of everything. Political work is the life-line of our army. True, a peoples army must pay attention to the constant improvement of its weapons and equipment and military technique, but in its fighting it does not rely purely on weapons and technique, it relies mainly on politics, on the proletarian revolutionary consciousness and courage of...commanders and fighters, on the support and backing of the masses."

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V

Political Strategy

of the Peoples War

The United Front

[P 14 r] [In fighting Imperialism] "a Communist Party must hold aloft the national banner and, using the weapon of the United Front, rally around itself the masses and the patriotic and anti-imperialist people so as to unite with all the forces that can be united....This means that the revolution embraces in its ranks not only the workers, peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie, but also the national [i.e. middle or even upper] bourgeoisie and other 'patriotic' and anti-imperialist democrats....If we abandon the national banner, adopt a policy of closed doorism [in respect to non-Communist elements] we [would only] isolate ourselves."

[P 24 r] "[But] within the United Front the Communist Party must maintain its ideological, political and organizational independence...and insist on its leading role."

[P 24 r] "This means that the revolution can only be, nay must be, led by the proletariat and the genuinely revolutionary party armed with Marxism-Leninism and by no other class or party."

From National-Democratic to Socialist Revolution

[P 25 l] "Mao's theory...is the...theory of revolution of stages namely the National-democratic [during which the Communists lead a United Front of Communist and non-Communist forces] and the Socialist [stage]."

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long and tortuous struggles. In this stage...imperialism and its lackeys are the main enemy. In the struggle against imperialism and its lackeys it is necessary to rally all anti-imperialist forces, including the national bourgeoisie and all patriotic personages....The national-democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution and the socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel."

"Mao criticized the wrong idea of 'accomplishing both at one stroke' and pointed out that this utopian idea could only weaken the struggle against imperialism..."

[P 25 l] to [P 25 E] "The Chinese revolution provides a successful lesson for making a thoroughgoing national-democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat...[and] for the timely transition from the national-democratic to the socialist revolution under the leadership of the proletariat."

VI

Imperialists and their Weapons

are Not To Be Feared

Imperialists are Paper Tigers

[p 23 r]

"In view of the fact that some people were afflicted with the fear of imperialists and reactionaries...Mao put forward his famous thesis that 'the imperialists and all reactionaries are paper tigers'....He said in appearance they are terrifying but in reality they are not so powerful... The history of the peoples war in China and other countries provides conclusive evidence that the growth of the peoples' revolutionary forces from weak and small beginnings is a universal law of development of peoples war."

"Mao points out that we must despise the enemy strategically and take full account of him tactically."

"Without the courage to despise the enemy and without daring to win, it will be simply impossible to make revolution and wage a peoples war..."

"It is likewise impossible to win victory in a peoples war without taking full account of the enemy tactically...without examining concrete conditions...and without adopting appropriate forms of struggle in the concrete practice of the revolution in each country..."

[p24 l]

"The imperialists are extremely afraid of...Mao's thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers, and the revisionists are extremely hostile to it. They all...attack this thesis and the philistines follow suit by ridiculing it. But...the light of truth cannot be dimmed by anybody."

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Revolutionary Spirit More Powerful
than Nuclear Weapons

[p 26 r]

"US imperialism relies solely on its nuclear weapons to intimidate people. But...nuclear weapons cannot be used lightly. US...has been condemned by the...whole world for...dropping atomic bombs on Japan. If it uses nuclear weapons again, it will become isolated in the extreme. Moreover, the US monopoly of nuclear weapons has long been broken....If it threatens other countries with nuclear weapons, US imperialism will expose its own people to the same threat."

"Even if US...brazenly uses nuclear weapons it cannot conquer the people who are indomitable."

"However highly developed modern weapons and technical equipment may be...in the final analysis the outcome of a war will be decided by the sustained fighting of ground forces, by the fighting at close quarters on battlefields, by the political consciousness of men, by their courage and

[P 27 I] spirit of sacrifice....The reactionary troops of US imperialism cannot possibly be endowed with the...spirit of sacrifice possessed by revolutionary people. The spiritual atom bomb which the revolutionary people possess is a far more powerful and useful weapon than the physical atom bomb."

[P 27 I] "Since Lenin led the Great October Revolution to victory, the experience of innumerable revolutionary wars has borne out the truth that a revolutionary people who rise up with only their bare hands at the outset finally succeed in defeating the ruling classes who are armed to the teeth. People's armed forces beginning only with primitive...rifles and hand-grenades have in the end defeated the imperialist forces armed with modern planes, tanks, heavy artillery and atom bombs. Guerrilla forces have ultimately defeated regular armies. 'Amateurs'...never trained at any military school have eventually defeated professionals graduated from military academies."

"The Khrushchev revisionists insist that a nation without nuclear weapons is incapable of defeating an enemy with nuclear weapons....Is not this openly forbidding people to make revolution?"

"The Khrushchev revisionists assert that nuclear weapons and strategic rocket units are decisive, while conventional forces are insignificant and that a militia is just a heap of human flesh. For such ridiculous reasons they oppose mobilization of and reliance on the masses in the 'Socialist' /i.e. Communist/ countries to get prepared to use the peoples war against imperialist /s/. They have staked the whole future of their country on nuclear weapons and are engaged in a nuclear gamble with US imperialism with which they are trying to strike a political deal....Their line in army building is the bourgeois line which ignores the human factor and sees only the material factor and which regards technique as everything and politics as nothing."

Revolutionary Wars won't Escalate into Nuclear Wars

[P 27 I] No Objection To Declassification in Full 2010/09/07 : LOC-HAK-15-5-54-0
part of the globe may touch off a world nuclear conflagration and bring destruction to mankind....There have been wars of national liberation throughout the 20 years since WW II. But has any single one of them developed into a WW...?"

China can cope even with the US super-power

[P 29 I] "The US imperialists are now clamoring for another trial of strength with the Chinese people, for another large scale ground war in the Asian mainland....The Chinese people definitely have ways of their own for coping with a US imperialist war....Our methods are no secret. The most important one is still mobilization of the people...making everyone a soldier and waging a peoples war."

"We want to tell the US...that the vast ocean of several million Chinese people in arms will be more than enough to submerge your few million aggressor troops....The naval and air superiority you boast cannot intimidate the Chinese people, and neither can the atom bomb....If you want to send troops, go ahead, the more the better. We will annihilate as many as you can send....We have the courage to shoulder the heavy burden of combating US imperialism and to contribute our share in the struggle for final victory over this most ferocious enemy of the people of the world."

stands in the way of their advance. Khrushchev is finished. And the successors to Khrushchev revisionism /i.e. the current Soviet leadership/ will fare no better. The imperialists,...and the Khrushchev revisionists, who have all set themselves against peoples war, will be swept like dust from the stage of history by...the revolutionary people."

/p 28 17

"The Khrushchev revisionists regard imperialists like Kennedy and Johnson as 'sensible' and describe us /Chinese Communists/ together with all those who dare to carry out armed defense against imperialist aggression as 'bellicose.' This has revealed the Khrushchev revisionists in their true colors as the accomplices of imperialist gangsters."

VIII

Vietnam

p 29 17 "The struggle of the Vietnamese people against US aggression...is now the focus of the struggle of the people of the world against US aggression....No matter what US imperialism may do to expand its war adventure, the Chinese people will do everything in their power to support the Vietnamese people until every single one of the US aggressors is driven out of Vietnam."

p 27 17 "Vietnam is the most convincing current example of...defeating US imperialism by a peoples war....They /US/ are deeply worried that their defeat in Vietnam will lead to a chain reaction....But the more they /US/ expand the war, the greater will be the chain reaction...the more disastrous their defeat. The people in other parts of the world will see still more clearly that US imperialism can be defeated and that what the Vietnamese people can do, they can do too."

p 30 17 "All people suffering from US imperialist aggression, oppression or plunder, unite! Hold aloft, the ...banner of peoples war....Victory will certainly go to the people of the world!"